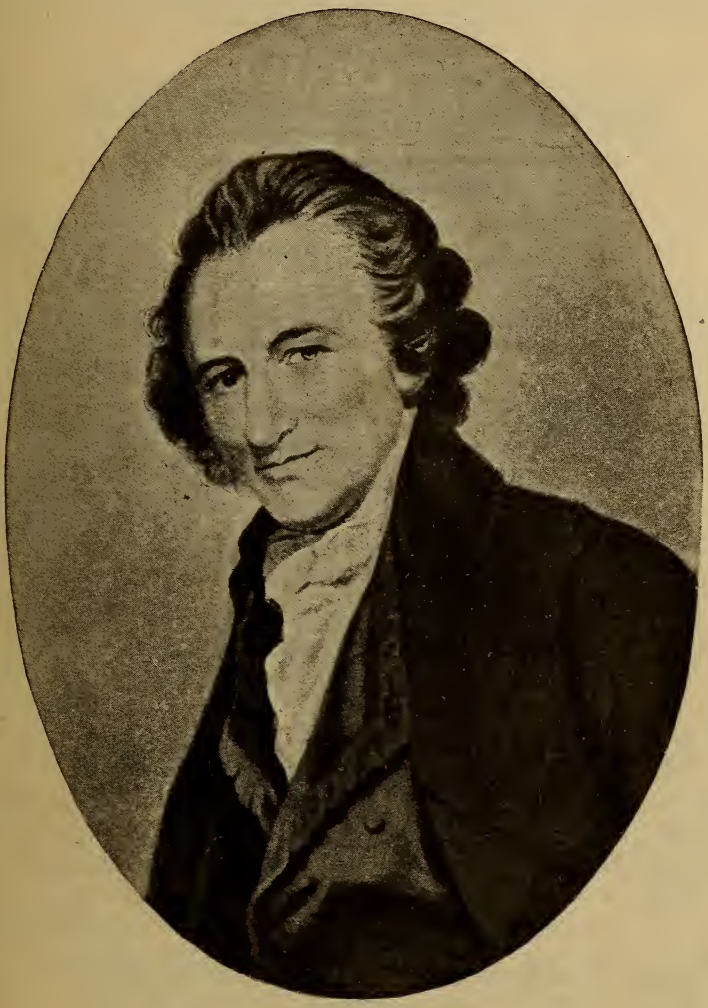
THOMAS PAINE



CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

NEW ROCHELLE

June 5, 1909

THOMAS PAINE CHRONOLOGY

1737. Jan. 29.—Thomas Paine born at Thetford, England.

1774. Nov. 30.—Came to America, with letters from Benjamin Franklin.

1775. March 8.—Paine's first essay in Penn. Magazine on Anti-slavery. (Later essays on Peace by International Arbitration, Protection of Animals, Justice for Women, etc.)

1775. Oct. 18.—Propounds "A Serious Thought"—The first suggestion of American Independence.

1776. Jan. 10.—Published "Common Sense"—a call for separation. ("Sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning"—Geo. Washington.)

1776. Sept. 19.—Enlisted under Gen. Greene, and wrote "The Crisis"—turning the tide from despair to hope.

1777. Jan. 13.—Second Crisis, saying, "The United States of America" sounds as well as "The Kingdom of Great Britain."

1779. Nov. 2.—Elected Secretary of Pennsylvania Assembly.

1780. March 1.—Act abolishing slavery in Pennsylvania. (Paine's work.)

1780. June 8.—Paine leads subscription for Washington's starving army with $500—leading to total of $1,500,000—again averting disaster.

1780. July 4.—University of Pennsylvania confers A. M. on Paine.

1781. Feb. to Aug. —Paine visited France and obtained large royal loan—(Paine's plan and work—no recompense.)

1784. June 16.—New York State presented Paine a farm in New Rochelle—277 acres.

1784. Oct. 3.—Congress votes $3,000 to Paine for services in "timely publications."

1785. —Philosophical Society made Paine a member.

1787. April —Visited France and England, introducing first model of iron bridge, and—"The Parliament of man and federation of the world"—(Paine's plan for "universal peace.")

1791. March 13.—Rights of Man, 1st part published in London.

1792. Feb. 17.—Rights of Man, 2d part published in London.

1792. Dec. 18.—Paine convicted of "High Treason"—outlawed from England.

1793. Jan. 18.—Paine strove to save life of Louis XVI. (fails).

1802. Oct. 30.—Paine returned to America—after 15 years' absence.

1809. Feb. 1.—A committee of Congress reported "That Mr. Paine rendered great and eminent services to the United States during their struggle for liberty and independence."

1809. June 8.—Paine died at 59 Grove Street, New York City.

1819. Sept. —Wm. Cobbett took Paine's remains to England.

1839. Nov. 12.—Monument erected near the grave.

1875. —Portrait of Paine accepted for Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.

1881. May 30.—New Rochelle monument repaired and rededicated.

1899. May 30.—Bronze bust unveiled with ceremonies.

1905. Sept. 11.—Marble bust of Paine (by Morse) accepted for Independence Hall.

1905. Oct. 13.—New Rochelle memorial committed to the custody of the City.

Thomas Paine national historical association,

MEMORIAL CELEBRATION

OF THE

ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE DEATH OF

THOMAS PAINE

AT THE

PAINE MONUMENT

PAINE AVENUE AND NORTH STREET, NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.

Saturday, June 5th, 1909, 2 p. m.

PROF. THADDEUS B. WAKEMAN

PRESIDENT THOMAS PAINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, PRESIDING

The Addresses:

Thomas Paine as the Devotee of Liberty

By REV. THOMAS R. SLICER

Pastor All Souls' Unitarian Church, N. Y.

Paine as a Prophet of Democracy

By DAVIS SAVILLE MUZZEY, Ph. D.

Society for Ethical Culture

Paine, the Pioneer of International Peace

By PROF. THADDEUS BURR WAKEMAN

President Thomas Paine Historical Association

Paine, the Apostle of Universal Brotherhood

By ELBERT HUBBARD

Editor of "The Philistine"

Also HENRY ROWLEY'S speech before the Brooklyn Philosophical Society

THE CELEBRATION UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE

THOMAS PAINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
PAINE MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION
BROOKLYN PHILOSOPHICAL ASSOCIATION
SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE
HUGUENOT ASSOCIATION OF NEW ROCHELLE

Copies of this pamphlet obtainable from Paine Historical Association, 120 Lexington Avenue, New York

TC 17
.V2 T5

Announcement

The Thomas Paine National Historical Association was organized and incorporated (under the laws of New York) on Sept. 11, 1906. Its first president was Rev. Moncure D. Conway, and soon after his death, in 1907, Prof. T. B. Wakeman was elected president. Its object is to collect and preserve relics of Paine, and books contributing facts about Paine to increase the public's knowledge and appreciation of the value of Paine's works, by meetings and publications. With as yet very moderate membership and financial support, the society has to its credit two very successful meetings at New Rochelle, one held in October, 1905, and the last on June 5, 1909. (As a centenary of Paine's death, June 8, 1809.) A report of the first meeting will be given in another pamphlet, this one being devoted to the proceedings of the centennial memorial. The report was made for and printed in *The Truth Seeker,* to which the society is indebted for the opportunity to use its linotypes in the making of this pamphlet. The liberality of a "handful" of Paine's best friends of to-day makes possible the printing of these reports, and the beginning of a very small Paine Museum at the old Paine house in New Rochelle. That house is owned by the Huguenot Association of New Rochelle, and that society deserves our thanks for having allotted one room for the use of this Paine Association. The fact is that very few material relics of Paine can be found, being as scarce and difficult to discover as his lost bones. This is not surprising when bearing in mind the fact that he was generally contented to live where "$5.00 would have bought the furniture." But his "soul goes marching on" in his books, and fortunately we can collect these and others throwing side lights on his history. The Paine Association can and will make the New Rochelle Paine Museum a receptacle for Paine history, facts, works, etc., which should be useful to those in search of such knowledge; and the association will disseminate Paine's grand political and social principles just so far as may be made possible by increasing membership and generous subscriptions.

All who favor these acts and purposes of the Thomas Paine National Historical Association are earnestly invited to contribute whatever they can spare to aid—books, pamphlets, clippings (for the scrap-book) and checks or cash to make the wheels go round on the press that prints Paine's pamphlets. Correspondence to this end may be addressed to the society at 120 Lexington Avenue, New York.

Repr. new. H.P.L. June 3 July 1944

The Paine Centenary

[From the New York Truth Seeker, June 12, 1909]

The improved position of the Paine monument at New Rochelle is material and visible proof of the rise of Paine himself in public esteem. The contrast as regards the monument is shown in two pictures THE TRUTH SEEKER has printed this week. The monument was erected seventy years ago in the corner of a field at the intersection of a country road and a lane. Today it has been elevated to a place where two avenues meet, with broad drives on three sides of it. The improvement of the site has involved a vast amount of filling in, and the old trees that shaded and half hid the monument have been preserved by circular retaining walls about their trunks. The old Paine house stands in a park by a walled brook that feeds a pretty lake with a pergola (or is it a peristyle?) at the lower end. The little company who journeyed to New Rochelle a hundred years ago to bury Paine would think themselves in a strange country.

On the afternoon of Saturday, June 5, Freethinkers from New York and the surrounding country as far west as Chicago gathered there in hundreds to assist in the exercises commemorative of the centenary of Paine's death, which occurred June 8, 1809. The weather was unpropitious, or there would have been as many more. A northeast storm prevailed on Friday, and threatened to continue on Saturday, and there was no encouragement in the outlook to hope for better things. To the credit of the skies it is to be said that they withheld their moisture admirably, conscious, doubtless, that the speeches would not need it, and while there was throughout the afternoon a tentative and uncertain raising and lowering of umbrellas, nobody really got wet.

Down Paine avenue, off North avenue, to the rear of the monument, a roomy and trustworthy speaker's stand had been erected by the committee and inclosed with the American colors. The small buildings shown in a picture of Colonel Ingersoll at New Rochelle which was given last week have been removed. A hundred seats or so were reserved for women and their escorts, and others were placed on the curb. Before occupying these the company in large numbers inspected the Paine house and registered their names as visitors. The members of the Ingersoll family were present. Mr. W. E. Clark, secretary of the Independent Religious Society of Chicago, represented Mr. Mangasarian's congregation. Mr. Geo. O. Roberts, president of the Buckeye Secular Union, came from Dennison, Ohio; Mr. A. Nielen from Cincinnati; Mr. S. M. Smith from Middletown, New York. Members of the Brooklyn society sent a floral wreath and were out in force. Young Mr. Winham, of that suburb, trafficked in souvenir badges and supplied everybody with a souvenir program prepared by the committee. Henry Rowley, in his automobile clothes, looked prosperous and robust. Dr. Foote, similarly accoutered, kept an eye on the arrangements, which were a credit to his oversight. Theodore Schroeder, who is a farmer and a neighbor of Mr. Wakeman, was picturesque in khaki. Mr. W. M. van der Weyde scaled all eminences with his camera and tripod and photographed industriously. E. C. Walker was accompanied by his daughter, Virna, now a young lady, and there were other rosebuds. Alden Freeman, of East Orange, who has been turned out by the Orange Chapter Sons of American Revolution for his heresies, and who managed a Paine celebration in his town on the 8th, bought numerous copies of THE TRUTH SEEKER to give to his friends. Fra Elbertus, John Hubbard, drew little knots of people wherever he stayed his course. From the Fra's personal appearance, which is a trifle singular, a stranger would find him hard to classify. He might turn out to be a pro-

gressive Quaker or a poet or a benevolent Pawnee Indian, and he might offer one a poem or a sermon or a bottle of Pawnee Remedy. As it happens, he is an entertainer of rare gifts. The Rev. Dr. Slicer looks not at all like a parson and very much like a bank president. Dr. Muzzey, of the Society for Ethical Culture, would pass for the leader of a men's Bible class, but his speech bewrays him.

Dr. Slicer, Dr. Muzzey, and Fra Elbertus were the speakers; Dr. Wakeman, as president of the Paine Historical Association, presiding. At a little after 2 o'clock, with the curb lined with spectators, with the seats in front of the stand all filled, with the chug-chug wagons at rest, and an expectant crowd extending from the seats to the monument, Mr. Wakeman called the assemblage to order and the exercises were on. The Huguenots, with less faith in the weather clerk than the Freethinkers displayed, postponed the celebration of the landing of their forefathers at New Rochelle.

What follows is from the pen and stenographic notes of our very helpful friend, Mr. Llewellyn D. Crine, of this city.

The following named societies joined in revering the memory of Paine:

Thomas Paine Historical Association.
Paine Memorial Association.
Brooklyn Philosophical Association.
Society for Ethical Culture.

Chairman Wakeman said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: The time has come to commence our celebration of the one hundredth death date, or properly speaking, harvest date of the living career of Thomas Paine. You are all here with expectancy of having a pleasant day doubtless, and we shall make it so by the enlightenment and the sense of justice that will be spread abroad and remain with us as a result of this occasion. You are beginning now to get acquainted with the beauty of the scenery of this position; you know *that* is the real house in which Paine lived as a farmer after his return to this country from Europe. It

was moved down here from the summit of the hill so as to have together all of the obtainable Paine relics. The monument, and place where his grave was under the tree near the fence there, and this stream and house combine to make this the proper place for this commemoration to be held. I think the program giving a chronology of dates will afford you all the further information that will be necessary for you to remember the day, and I believe the inspiration and pleasure which we will all derive from meeting here will be lasting. The first speaker that will open the commemoration for us is the Rev. Dr. Thomas R. Slicer, and I take pleasure in introducing him because of what the man really is, and because in addition to that he shows a spirit of reconciliation which is coming over the religious section of the country in the fact that we can hardly now have one celebration without at least one representative of the clergy to express appreciation of one whom they have heretofore deemed their enemy, or one who is beyond or outside of the notice. of the great religious section which he represents.

SPEECH OF DR. SLICER.

Dr. Slicer said in part: Ladies and Gentlemen: I am impressed with the contrast which this group of people represents when set against the background of one hundred years ago and the little group that surrounded the grave in which Thomas Paine was laid. One of the Hicks family, who was destined on the lines of real religion to make a new departure in the Society of Friends, was there. Madame Bonneville, who was bound to Paine by the sacrament of friendship, and two negroes that walked twenty-five miles to be there to represent the emancipation not yet achieved but destined to arrive, were in the group. Here, amid this downfall from on high a larger group of people celebrate that downfall from on high expressed in words, "Let the world take notice when a man is born into the world."

I am here not to represent the Christian church, but to represent religion reduced to its lowest terms. There are only two words in religion, God and the soul, and all other things called religious are an effort to build a bridge from one of these facts to the other. Paine did not emphasize the bridge so much as he did the flight from one to the other, which was due to his being a man of courage and possessed of a spirit of adventure. It is natural that a man who believed as Paine did, that essential religion consists in love of God and love of man, should have been in matters of government and religion a devotee of liberty.

As you know, the republics of Paine now encircle practically the whole world. At the meeting the last time of the Geographical Society at Washington, the question was asked, What was the greatest benefit to the human race achieved since the settlement of America? And it was said, the organization of republics in imitation of the United States, Now, Paine's title as the discoverer and inventor of the United States is just as plain as Watts' invention of the steam engine, and everything that has taken place as a result of organizing the United States of America was the result of Thomas Paine's labors. To him the credit!

But where is the empire of Napoleon the Great? Nowhere, utterly gone, and the aristocracy of Great Britain is now trembling in the balance as to whether the people will permit it to continue any longer or not. The Maritime compact of Paine, Jefferson said, was perfectly practicable. There is no doubt about it that Paine's position as a world statesman, and as the great pioneer of the progress and peace of humanity, will be the great subject which will occupy the attention of our successors, and especially of those who will hold on this spot in 2009 the next celebration and memorial of the Father of Republics and so of the peace of the world.

"Only the other night," continued Dr. Slicer, "in a group of authors one man was telling what he thought to be the effect of capital punishment, and

one man said, 'We do not hang one where we ought to hang ten,' then he illustrated it by saying in your garden you pull out the weeds that the flowers may grow. I expressed to him the trouble with our garden is it is all flowers; there are no weeds. He was ready to dispute that and I reminded him of the brotherhood in ideal, and I said there is no herb in the practice of medicine, there is no flower in the garden, but that sometime or other somebody called it a weed; that all of our herbs are converted weeds and all of our flowers are converted weeds. Paine's idea of liberty was that every man had right to enjoyment of life, liberty and happiness, and it was for that reason he was intimately associated with the Declaration of Independence, which was long a declaration before it was a fact." At this point a "coughing instrument" with lungs in the form of automobile machinery, standing at the rear of the platform, disturbed the speaker and after a few further reflections, the address closed with the words, "The progress of the world in political and religious liberty will be written in the estimates that the world has learned to take of Thomas Paine during the hundred years since he fell into an unnoticed grave."

SPEECH OF DR. MUZZEY.

The next speaker was Dr. Muzzey, who said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Many words have passed into the language of history which still belong largely to the sphere of prophecy, and democracy is such a word. We speak very glibly of democracy, of the winning of democracy. We talk of the great struggle of the 17th century of the Stuart kings and their parliaments as winning democratic government for England; we point to the American and French revolutions as the pulling down of despotism in the world; and we point with pride to our extended suffrage, to our elected executive, to our popular courts and juries, and say the day of democracy has arrived, that absolutism

has passed away, tyrants are all overthrown. It is true that outward forms of despotism have largely passed away; that despotism, malevolent and benevolent, is no longer very evident in the world; that the form of advanced human life today is largely democratic. But it needs only the slightest glance at our conditions, social, political and religious, it needs only a glance at the intrenchments of accumulated wealth, it needs only the horrid spectacle of the nations vieing in frenzy to arm themselves against each other for warfare, inventing engines of destruction at the cost of the toil of millions of men on the farms, in the shops, yes, of the women in the homes, in the office, in the sweat shops—it needs only a glance at these things, the thought of them, the sight of them, to make us realize that the democracy for which Robert Burns sang and for which Thomas Paine labored is still a bright ideal in the distant future, the star of brotherhood over a humanity still in the cradle.

Today, and only today, Thomas Paine is beginning to be appreciated as the prophet of that kind of democracy which means full human brotherhood. His fame will grow with the years. The marvelous services of his brain, of his pen, which was never dipped in the ink of malice or slander, of his wonderful devotion as a soldier, as a prophet of freedom, a service which George Washington, as you well know, said was worth that probably of all other men, or worth more than that of any other man in bringing about our independence, is coming to be understood. As the realization of that service of Paine grows, it will loom larger and larger. And when the day of democracy shall have come, when the principles for which Paine stood shall have fully replaced the awful dogmas of the past, as they are slowly and surely replacing those dogmas, then he will come to his own.

There is something prophetic about all great souls; they are not for their age but for all time.

Their task is never exhausted by the performance of it in their generation, nobly as they may do it, but

the great souls always set the mark ahead for humanity; they set us standards, give us something to strive for. Shakespeare has written his wonderful plays, and in the history of the human soul as he depicts Hamlet, Ophelia, Cordelia and other characters, we feel that he is analyzing our own very spirits; that he is dealing with the loves and hates and fears that are struggling for mastery in our own souls. He is not absorbed in the pictures of the past, he is speaking for time, for eternity, and he is extremely great because of this prophetic quality of his work. Abraham Lincoln is living and is honored every year more and more as the snows melt from his grave, not so much because of what he did, although what he did was magnificent, but because of what he believed his countrymen of America could do. Great, why? It was because he was a prophetic soul that he was so extremely great. And so Paine was not only a democrat, he was much greater, a prophet of democracy.

Let me point out three or four things, the features of Paine's democracy that seem to me so valuable in their day for their prophetic quality. In the first place, the restless activity of his spirit: To Paine the idea of loyalty without activity was unthinkable. After his continuous service of eight years to the cause of the patriots in our war, a service which opened with the first number of the "Crisis" when the discouraged army was fleeing before the British across the fields of New Jersey, and closed reciting that the times that tried men's souls were over—after that wonderful service in which he was worth the efforts of twenty thousand men, he might have settled down in this country and enjoyed a good salary in a governmental position and lived a life of ease in a fine house; but no, he hastened away to England in order that he might carry on his work for freedom. He thought his work was finished here and himself no longer needed; he left the copyright of his eighteen pamphlets which were selling by the hundreds of thousands, and expressing satisfaction that he had been of use here, sailed away to

England. Edmund Burke had been hired to write a defense of monarchy with reference to the French Revolution when that movement was still in its noble and exalted stage. Paine immediately replied to Burke's attack on the revolution by the "Rights of Man," a work which made the friends of monarchy tremble. For that, what was called his libel on monarchy and the monarch, for his attachment to the great souls who initiated the French revolution, Paine was marked for the hangman, but before the noose tightened about his neck, he was taken away to the field of his third activity for freedom.

In France, the legislative assembly of 1792 elected a number of distinguished foreigners to citizenship: Priestley, Wilberforce, Clarkson, Washington, Hamilton, Madison, Kosciusko, the German Schiller, and Thomas Paine was among the number so elected. Paine was chosen a member of the French Assembly from Calais. There he labored to make this new republic of France an example for the monarchy-cursed countries of Europe. It was he with Sieyes that made the French constitution which was adopted next year. It was Paine who protested against the domination of the assembly by the section of Paris which led to the reign of terror; it was he who stood unmoved in the frenzied assembly pleading for the life of Louis XVI, saying, I war against monarchy but not against Louis; let us kill monarchy but not the man.

For this he was cast into prison where he languished for nearly a year by the sanguinary desire of Robespierre, and he finally escaped the guillotine only by his jailers being misled by a chalkmark that was placed on the inside of his cell door instead of the outside.

I would call attention also to the fact which Dr. Slicer has touched on for a moment, that Paine was so sane in his democracy. He would not deceive by words. He saw nothing sacred in vocabularies. He brought every expression to the test of reason, to the test of present efficiency. When the members

of the Christian church and colleges in his day defended slavery on the ground that the Jewish scriptures sustain slavery, he accused them of hiding their cowardice behind the cowardice of the Israelites of two thousand years ago. When the timorous timeservers of monarchy asserted that the thrones of Europe at the close of the 18th century were the wisest forms of government on earth and should not be destroyed, he said mankind has gone so little way as yet in the discovery of forms of government that we cannot call it more than begun. When they told him that monarchy was sacred, he told them that was not reasonable; that it would be just as reasonable to expect hereditary authors as to have hereditary rulers. When he was prosecuted for libel he replied: If to show the fraud and imposition of monarchy, if to propose reforms for the education of helpless infancy and for the relief and comfort of old age and the destitute, if to seek to stop the horrid practice of war among nations and bring about universal peace, commerce and brotherhood, if to strike off the shackles of superstition and raise man to his proper place in the universe—if these be libel, then let me live a libeler and let libeler be engraved on my tomb.

You who have corresponded with the secretaries of these societies are familiar with the long list of reforms, social, political, religious, which were originated by Thomas Paine. This list embraces almost everything which we prize in our accomplishments of the past hundred years as a nation. It was he who first suggested independence, the federal union, abolition of slavery, protection to dumb animals, international peace, and so on through the list. We still await the realization of many of his proposed reforms, among which is the federation of the world and the brotherhood of mankind, which must be brought about before universal democracy will be established on this earth.

SPEECH OF MR. WAKEMAN.

The next address was by the chairman, Mr. Wakeman; Mr. Winham being named to preside in the meantime.* His speech condensed was as follows:

You know back of me sits the principal charm of the day, and I do not mean to stand between you and him longer than necessary. This is an important day to all of us because it is unique; we shall never see its return again and never attend another centenary celebration in memory and harvest of Thomas Paine. We are here once for all. What influence we can extend to the next centenary day we must do by beginning it here and continue it as best we can until that centenary comes around. What has been said on religion was faithfully and well said. To me it was a sign of what Paine was worth sociologically; in other words, of his influence on religion, morals, ethics, in the greater matter of social evolution and the law of human progress.

If Paine was our real leader as to those services and subjects, he takes his place among the greatest benefactors of the human race, and what I am here to try to intimate to you I would like to do at length is this: That I have discovered that Paine not only wrote those words "the Religion of Humanity" in the VII Crisis, which nobody seemed to have found out until I called attention to them, but he was the real author by this discovery of all laws of social science, which is called sociology, now the queen of the sciences. And to this queen, all

---

*** As Mr. Wakeman will write his latest deductions about Paine, only fragments are given here. The rain and circumstances attending the celebration prevented the delivering and report of his address as prepared. Of that delivered but a part was reported—the latter part of the report by the stenographer gave separate sentences of the subjects touched upon. This change of subject is here intimated by separate paragraphs. The address as originally planned concludes the full report of the celebration, and will be had separately.**

The Paine Monument at New Rochelle

Photo by courtesy of Van der Weyde, New York

thinkers to-day are having their minds attracted as the final and most important subject for human consideration—the law of social evolution as a whole.

My point is that Thomas Paine was the discoverer of that law in society, politics and government; and that his life and career were devoted to thus applying that law in his day and generation as a new basis of the future evolution, welfare and progress of all peoples and nations. If this is true, he stands among the very great, if not the greatest discoverers and inventors of the human race. This sociology is the newest, that is, the last of the five greater sciences, to wit: Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and *now* Sociology. Each of these sciences grow out of each other and all are thus combined as one grand pedestal of the human race itself. That means that the human future is determined by the correlation and evolution of all of the changes which are our existence or "world." This law was discovered first in the material sciences—astronomy, physics, and chemistry; then in biology, that is the realm of living things—protists, microbes, plants, then in the lower animals, and then in man the highest; and then in the societies of mankind. There it is first found as a conscious evolution of social cooperation and *purposeful design* to attain beneficent ends. Such a *design* for such *ends* is the evolutional *"telesis,"* or *end sought,* under all natural law which had to be discovered and applied in society, politics, and government to secure human welfare and progress. That law, and that only, determines what we are, where we are and whither going, and thus solves the human future and places it within human control. If Paine was the real leader in that discovery he stands by the side of Copernicus, Newton, Darwin, present to describe.

Comte, Spencer and Ward, and the beneficent results and consequent glory of this discovery, and its discoverer, are beyond the words of any mind at

Will this discovery of Paine's become under-

stood, and recognized to be his? If so, then at the next centenary audiences of thousands, instead of hundreds, will gather throughout the civilized world to recognize the mightiness of a debt they hitherto have had no idea that they owed. That law has been stated by August Comte, Herbert Spencer, and our own Lester F. Ward, as the law of integration, differentiation and convergence common to all forms of association. Ward is now president of the American Sociological Society and professor of sociology in Brown University. That is the man who is now telling us these social truths; and we are not fitted to discuss these questions unless we know what the verdict of this new science is upon them.

Mr. Wakeman continued, speaking of cooperative and convergent integration, individuation. He alluded to "Thoughts on Defensive Warfare," published by Paine in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* in July, 1775. It is a "most thoughtful essay" and is included in Conway's writings of Paine. "Friends, all of you read it" as the best answer to Tolstoi and the non-combative Anarchists. Then followed his "Serious Thought," then "Common Sense," then "Rights of Man," and in all of them the development of this social law is followed as the base of our Republic. The American colonies were told they must integrate into a confederation, each for all and all for each.

He was also the pioneer worker for universal peace, the abolition of war. As to the nations then debating the attempts to relieve the world of war, Paine said No, you must first adopt this democratic federal republic. Establish republics, then peoples can be confederated into a federal whole, and then that final whole can abolish war in the progress of humanity. That was his theory, but it has had an imperial setback and it is now therefore practically adjourned until republics take the place of empires and monarchies. Paine designed to have this process begun by a "Maritime compact" formed by republics.

SPEECH OF MR. HUBBARD.

After Prof. Wakeman's lengthy address had closed, he introduced the star from East Aurora, or more properly perhaps not a star at all, but the Aurora Borealis. To those who do not understand the reference, the next and last speaker of the day was Mr. Elbert Hubbard. His speech was likewise a long one, and jocular as well, holding the closest attention of the audience. This, like the others, must be condensed, the allotted space in THE TRUTH SEEKER being already overrun. He said:

Not long ago I was reading a book by Maurice Maeterlinck, entitled the "Life of the Bee," and in that book I came across this proposition: That a bee taken away from its hive is lost and can never get back; a bee alone makes no honey; a bee alone has no intelligence, but a hive of bees has a great and a magnificent intelligence; a hive of bees knows things that no man will ever know. A hive is very close to some of the great secrets of the infinite. A man alone has no intelligence; a man separated from his kind is lost and undone; after a very few hours of absolute separation, reason reels and the mind totters. All of our actions in life have other men in mind. The man who says go to, I will succeed, does not succeed. We succeed only as we work with other people, and the badge of sanity is the ability to co-operate with other people. When you are unable to co-operate with other people, there is one of two places where they will send you, either to Matteawan or to Sing Sing. There is no reason for sending a man to either place excepting through his inability to work with other people.

Not long ago I visited the state hospital at Utica. I telegraphed my friend there, the superintendent, that I was coming to see him, When I got off the train a man came up to me and asked, Is this Mr. Hubbard? and he said, I was sent up from the hospital to meet you. I thought he was the doctor, he had a professional look and he looked a little like Dr. Slicer (laughter), and I am always im-

pressed when I meet great men and I did not know what to say to this man, and so the joke came in as it always does on cases of that kind. I said, From the hospital? Yes. You are not insane, are you? Not all the time. He said you know insane people are not insane all the time any more than sane people are sane all the time. Then we got into the carriage waiting there. He said, This man is one of our patients, he is all right. And in the carriage he explained to me this: We never contradict anybody; we try to use the remnant of sanity which he possesses, and if he can do anything for anybody else he is on his way to recovery. I said, You do not talk like an insane man to me, what is your trouble? He said religion. He said, What is yours? I then saw he was concerned about me. I said, I want to do away with all of the doctors, lawyers and preachers. Well, he said, I think you are in for life (laughter).

And that evening there I spoke to eight hundred of these insane people, so called. But there they do not call them insane people nor use the word asylum, and I am glad they have struck that word out. It was a Quakeress who struck from the English records the madhouse. She said, They are not mad, they need our love, our care, our consideration, aye a woman.

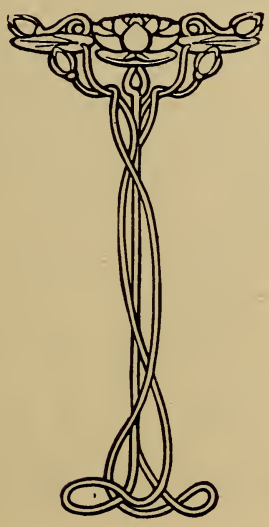
And I spoke there that night to these sick people, and I said, What shall I say to them? I never talked to insane people. He said, You do not need to talk insanely, give them the best you have got and you will find they have got something in common with you. I had talked about half an hour when an old lady arose and said, "I cannot, my God, I cannot stand this foolishness any longer!" and she walked out. The doctor said to me afterward this was the first sign of returning sanity (laughter).

Now, the great change that has come about concerning sick people and orthodox people traces itself back to the Quakers, a word given to them in contempt; I like the word "Friend" better. Thomas Paine was a Friend; his religion was friendship, and

I do not know a better religion than that. He did not make a profession of friendship. He did not want his views made exempt from taxation because he was a Friend. He did not go in the friendship business; he did not go to a college to learn the divine way of friendship; no, because you will never find friendship in college any more than you will find God in a divinity school or in church. If you want to find God in a church, says George Bernard Shaw, you must call in when the priest is not there. Thomas Paine's mother was a Quakeress, and one of the distinguishing features of the Quakers is this: They believe that God speaks to women just the same as to men, whereas the priests who go into the business of divinity believe that God is masculine. There are no women angels. God is a bachelor and his stenographer, Gabriel, is a bachelor. Paul was a bachelor, a confirmed bachelor, and I imagine he was confirmed by a woman. I was delighted that our sincere friend here (Dr. Slicer) made some reference to women's hats. If you read the inscription on one side of that monument, Thomas Paine there speaks of the gratitude of man and woman. I love him for this; I love him for the ideas of equality that he expresses, not only the equality of men, but the equality of men and women.

Thomas Paine made the mistake of living too long and dying in a peaceful way. If you are going to live in history, you must not live too long. A year ago this month I rode from Torrington, Connecticut, to Litchfield, a distance of sixteen miles. I was riding with a friend from one town to the other and noticed much laurel en route, and my friend explained it was because John Brown was born at Torrington and Henry Ward Beecher was born at Litchfield, and Nature commemorated those events with a profusion of laurel aroundabout. John Brown died on the scaffold in West Virginia surrounded by thousands of troops, while Paine died peacefully. If you want laurels when dead you must meet a tragic death.

This closed the speaking for this year and the chairman adjourned the next similar glorification outing to one hundred years hence, at the same time announcing that not one of us will be there. The monument was appropriately decorated for this occasion, as it will also be for the next centennial memorial. At that time it may be that the clergyman present will take for his subject the words of Paine, "I have as little superstition in me as any man living."



HENRY ROWLEY'S THOMAS PAINE ADDRESS

Delivered at the Centenary Celebration held by the Brooklyn Philosophical Association on Sunday, May 30

Whilst it is pleasant to contemplate the high esteem in which Thomas Paine is held by many persons throughout the world, it is sad to relate that there are still some who persist in slandering him. Is it not strange that a man who had rendered such signal services to mankind should be denied simple justice? Is it not amazing that men who have every opportunity of knowledge should repeat silly stories, invented by malignant foes, as though they were verified statements? Even the ex-president of the United States has shown the grossest ignorance of Paine and the principles he advocated. He says that Paine was a *"filthy little Atheist"—a trinity of falsehoods.* The testimony of men who were intimates of Paine proves that he was careful of his person; a man of clean habits. He was five feet ten inches high—not very *little*—and he was not an Atheist.

Paine asserts: "Religion has two principal enemies: Fanaticism and Infidelity, or that which is called Atheism. The first requires to be combated by reason and morality, the other by natural philosophy." * * * "We profess and we proclaim in peace, the pure, unmixed, comfortable and rational belief of a God as manifested to us in the universe."

In the face of such an explicit statement, it is beyond belief that any fair-minded person can charge Paine with being an Atheist. I am not defending or attacking these views: I merely state the facts as an answer to the charge.

Paine was of the Quaker persuasion—a sect which does not trouble itself about theology; in fact, it utterly rejects the clerical and sacramental system in every form and it substitutes the "inner light" for the principle of authority. Have the opponents of Paine ever thought of the long list of distinguished persons—a list strikingly disproportionate to their numbers—who came forth from their ranks? Time does not permit of a lengthly enumeration: I just recall two illustrious physicists, Dalton and Young; and two philanthropists, Clarkson and Elizabeth Fry. Then think of the Deists. Under this head would properly come all the Unitarians—a comparatively small body, but its members always characterized by great intelligence, lofty morality, and a genuine devotion to the cause of religious liberity.

Dr. Priestley, who takes a foremost place amongst scientists, wrote an exhaustive treatise on the "Corruptions of Christianity" in which he shows that every dogma of orthodox Christianity was false doctrine. A Unitarian is chaplain of the United States Senate, the late president of Harvard and President Taft are Unitarians—all reject orthodoxy and stand theologically where Paine stood. Search your histories and you will find that the intellectual and moral forces of the world have been supplied by men of heterodox opinions. It is too late to judge a man by his biblical opinion: if the clergy were so tested half of them would be cast out of the church. There is a truer standard—that is, usefulness!

Until Paine's time the Bible was practically a closed book to the masses, and few, if any, had given any study to the principles of government. Education and government were in the hands of a few: the king owned the bodies and the priests controlled the minds. The people received the "word" and the government the taxes. "Altar" and "throne" were in league to filch from the people. Paine's books were an illumination, and they sold by the hundreds of thousands. Some critics say that his language

was violent, that he was deficient in historical sense, and that he could not distinguish between legendary and mythical narratives, but no one has ever accused him of hiding his meaning in verbosity or dodging the issue by quibbling over niceties. He goes straight to the point.

The secret of the success of Paine's books lies in their simplicity. His sentences are clear and concise and his arguments are closely knitted together. "He who runs may read." A problem is stated and solved in a sentence. Had he written learned treatises on Government and Religion he might have displayed his erudition, but never reached the heart and brain of his fellow man. When he says that "the thirst for absolute power is the natural disease of monarchy" he sums up in a sentence, comprehensible to the ordinary mind, the curse of kingcraft; and the remark that "the nearer any government approaches to a republic, the less business there is for a king," is abundantly proved by the experience of America and England.

I cannot too strongly urge upon you the study of the "Rights of Man." There are parts of it which have only a historical interest, but the main theme deals with fundamental principles of government; the natural rights of man and their relationship to civil rights. It will be of service to our Socialistic friends when they are required to adjust individual sovereignty with governmental powers and responsibility. Paine was a strong individualist, but he recognized the necessity of government which should be the creation of a free people, and that its existence should be continued only as long as it secures the rights of all the members of society. Government, in its true character, is the servant of society. Society has the right to establish any form of government it thinks best suited to the exigencies of the people, provided it be not hereditary. Man has no property in man, neither has one age the right to fasten its system of government upon any other age. . Public affairs are to be managed by the living, not the dead.

Let me say a word or two about the "Age of Reason." It was the first criticism of the Bible I read, and I recall today the profound impression it made upon my mind. The young Methodist ministers who expounded the "word" to the devout in our village availed themselves of every opportunity to slay the enemies of the Lord, the chief of which were Voltaire and Paine. In my youthful ignorance, I believed that Paine was an emissary of Satan, and whenever I heard his name I could see his horns and hear the whisk of his tail. I read the "Age of Reason" clandestinely but thoroughly. I saw clearly that the Bible was not what the Protestant church claimed it to be. It was not a divine book but a human book. Instead of a message from heaven it was a collection of ancient myths edited by pious ecclesiastics who were more anxious to find an authoritative basis for their dogmas than to tell the simple truth regarding its origin and character. What was the real purpose of Paine in writing this book? I do not think it is difficult to find an answer if we diligently look for the facts. Paine had a real, genuine purpose in everything he did. Above all things he was in earnest. The character of his works shows that he was a profound thinker engaged in serious work. He had a reverent mind. The stories of the doings of Jehovah filled him with horror. Could it be possible that the Creator of the Universe would issue orders to "slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass"? (1 Sam. xv, 3.) The "Age of Reason" was the protest of a highly moral man against the doings of a deeply immoral god. "All our ideas of the justice and goodness of God give the lie to the book that ascribes cruelty and injustice to God: I therefore reject the Bible as unworthy of credit." It was to save the character of God that Paine wrote. The Bible does not describe a God of justice and goodness, but a devil.

Paine claims that there are no mysteries in religion. It imposes duties, which are, "doing justice,

loving mercy and endeavoring to make our fellow creatures happy." When, however, men have invented religions which cannot be defended on rational grounds, they have always tried to bar questionings, inquiries, and investigations.

By the help of such words as "mystery" and "miracle" they succeeded in doing this. Paine says the word "mystery" seemed to bewilder the mind and the word "miracle" to puzzle the senses. The one was the lingo, the other the legerdemain. In the same category he places prophecy. Mystery and miracle took charge of the past and the present, prophecy took charge of the future and rounded the tenses of faith. The peculiarity of prophetic utterances lies in their looseness and obscurity, and so "equivocal that they will fit any circumstance which might afterwards happen." Paine could not believe that the "Almighty" would deal so jestingly with mankind. The "Examination of the Prophecies" will fully repay your thoughtful reading.

You must have noticed the numerous references to dreams and visions made in the Old and New Testaments. Such a circumstance was not likely to elude the diligence of Paine, so he wrote "An Essay on Dream." Many people believe that there is some hidden meaning in dreams—instead of looking for their cause, they try to read into them some strange and fantastic features. Men and women visit necromancers for the purpose of having their dreams interpreted. Impostors are always lying in wait for the gullible. Dreams and visions are closely allied, although they arise from different causes. Generally speaking, the cause is physiological in both cases. Dreams are caused by eating too much, visions are caused by not eating enough. They mean nothing but physical disorder. Paine does not examine this phase of the subject, but confines himself to the investigation of the threefold faculties of the mind, viz.: Imagination, Judgment, and Memory. His remarks are very original and suggestive. He shows that as no importance can be attached to dreams, it is absurd to make them the

foundation of a religion. An old man had the most astounding dream—"and behold the Angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream saying 'Joseph, thou son of David, fear not thou to take unto thee Mary, thy wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.'" (Matt. i, 20.)

Peter fell into a trance and saw a vision which convinced him that his knowledge of eatables was very imperfect. (Acts x, 11.)

The writer of the thirty-fourth chapter of Ecclesiasticus gives the best summary of dreams and dreamers: "The hopes of a man void of understanding are vain and false; and dreams lift up fools. Whoso regardeth dreams is like him that catcheth at a shadow and followeth after the wind."

All these speculations are of interest, but they are of secondary importance to Paine's work in the direction of human liberty. Had he not written the "Age of Reason" and his minor criticisms on the Bible, Paine would, no doubt, be amongst the "respectables" but his work would have been incomplete. Admitting, however, that there may be room for differences of opinion upon the value of his religious essays, is there any reason for withholding our admiration and gratitude for the services he rendered in the cause of American independence? *Pamphleteer, soldier, statesman, chronicler*—tireless worker! He not only urged separation but sustained the country in its battle for independence. Toryism was rampant in New York city long after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and it had to be won over to the cause of America. The early numbers of the "Crisis" show the true state of public feeling. There was a gallant army doing wonders in the field, but it was necessary to support it materially and morally. When we consider that Paine, for several years, was a private citizen, it is almost incredible that he should have had at his command such an arsenal of facts. Any one who thinks he was a generalizer should consult the "Crisis," particularly number ten. His position was impregnable. He

was not satisfied with separation and the establishment of a new kingdom; he was striving for a Republic based upon the Rights of Man.

I consider it a pleasure to speak the praises of men and women who have given their lives to the cause of liberty, and I consider it a sacred duty to rescue the name of Thomas Paine from the obloquy and shame which have been heaped upon it by men who are, to-day, the beneficiaries of his unselfish devotion and intelligent labors.

Paine's monument.

This curious picture of the Paine Monument was printed in Gilbert Vale's "Beacon" about seventy years ago, and is reproduced in his Life of Paine.

Photo by Van der Weyde, New York.

Elbert Hubbard at the Paine Centenary Celebration, New Rochelle, N. Y., June 5, 1909

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 022 021 638 A

Hollinger Corp.
pH 8.5